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United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency made a limited, and mainly statistical, study of thirteen different barrios from Luzon to Mindanao.[6] 121

Anthropologists working in the Philippines have concentrated largely on the primitive peoples such as the Negritos, Ifugaos and other scattered groups in the archipelago. Yet Felix Keesing wrote in 1949 that the study of primitive groups in the Philippines "is a rich yet little worked field."[7] The study of Christian Filipino culture is a more neglected field of research. There is less anthropological material on any one of the major Christian Filipino groups than on the small Negrito bands of the islands.

Due to this lack of information on Christian Filipinos, the impact of American culture on rural Filipinos often has been exaggerated. Grunder and Livezey state: 117.

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[6] Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, The Rural Philippines, Manila, Philippines. A cooperative project of the Philippine Council for United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency, reproduced by the Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, October 1952. This report was released less than a week before my manuscript was sent to the typist. However, part of this report was available to the writer, Rivera and McMillan, "The Rural Philippine Cooperative Project of PHILCUSA and MSA, Part II: Summary and Suggested Lines of Action and Part V; Agriculture." Manila, Philippines, August 1952, 34 pages, mimeographed.

[7] Felix Keesing, "Some Notes on Bontok Social Organization, Northern Philippines," American Anthropologist, LI, No. 4, Part 1 (October-December 1949), p.578.

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> The true significance of the number, the authority, and the character of the American personnel in the Philippines is frequently lost sight of...Shortly after the assumption in 1913 of administration of the Philippines by the Democratic party, American personnel was so reduced in numbers and so weakened in position, that the power of the United States to control the government as it touched the masses of the Filipinos was greatly curtailed...[8]

Later they remark that since the days of Francis B. Harrison, the number of Americans in the Philippines and their authority "were too restricted...to carry on adequately the transmission of American culture, especially in the political field."[9] In the area of educational practices and theories where American influence frequently is said to have been the most effective, J. C. Laya, a noted Filipino educator, has written about "the little dent the much-tauted American-sponsored educational system has made on Philippine rural life..."[10]

Many American traditions which may appear to have been willingly accepted by the Filipinos were actually imposed by fiat. Two examples are the Philippine Bill of Rights and their independence day (July 4th). The Bell Report required certain drastic changes be made in the government structure of the Philippines and the

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[8]Carel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey, The Philippines and the United States. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp.85-6.

[9]Ibid., p.209.

[10]J. C. Laya, Little Democracies (of Bataan). Rev. ed. Manila, Inang Wika Publishing Company, 1951. p.6.

Hardie land tenure report contained a veiled threat of intervention on the part of the United States if certain internal economic conditions were not eradicated.[11] Senator Claro Recto, spokesman for the Nacionalista party, has spoken indignantly regarding certain aspects of American policy. 177

> Why then was it necessary to amend our Constitution to grant parity to Americans, to give them military, naval and air bases in our sovereign territory, to slavishly play the kite to every changing wind in American foreign policy, to make America's enemies automatically our own, to submit to supervision over our internal affairs including even the reorganization of our cabinet and of our army's high command, and the enactment of our revenue statutes and social legislation, conditions which no self-respecting nation under the Marshall Plan ever accepted?[12]

The paucity of data on Christian Philippine culture, the frequent exaggeration of the impact of past American policies on rural Filipinos, and the rise of a nervous nationalism among many politically alert individuals are all factors which handicap American efforts to assist the Republic initiating a grass-root rural renaissance. Future relations between the Philippines 12/

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[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952.

[12] Address given by Senator Recto in Manila, May 4, 1951. p.21. Mimeographed.

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influenced the present land use patterns of Negros, the areal distribution of crops today appears to have been influenced more forcefully by physical rather than cultural factors.

Corn-Coconut Regions of Eastern Negros

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The major maize-producing areas in the Philippines are the Visayan Islands of Negros, Cebu, Siquijor, Bohol, Leyte, Masbate and the Cagayan valley (Luzon), and Mindanao.[79] The Philippines is self-sufficient in this grain and it is called the "poor man's rice."[80] For the crop year 1951-52 rice accounted for 42 per cent of all Philippine crops; 18 per cent of the cultivated land was devoted to corn.[81] Corn is the "principal foodstuff of about 30 per cent of the population" of the Philippines.[82]

The Spaniards first introduced corn in the 16th century; it appeared to have spread rapidly in the Visayas. The two corn-coconut regions of Negros are agricultural phenomena unique in Asia, for here a non-indigenous food crop dominates the agricultural landscape. The adaptability of corn to the physical

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[79] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.52.

[80] Hugo H. Miller, Principles of Economics Applied to the Philippines. New York, Ginn and Company, 1932, p.212.

[81] Central Bank of Philippines Statistical Bulletin IV, No. 1 (March 1952). Manila, Bureau of Printing, p.99.

[82] "Philippine Corn Production High," Foreign Crops and Markets, LXV, No. 20 (November 17, 1952), p. 455.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice. 311 243

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation. 433 438 311 243

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United 243 177

[90] Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91] Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

States, Italy, Spain, Iran, and southeast Asia. "About one hundred of the older varieties and four or more of the recent introductions are grown commercially [in the Philippines]."[93] There are four major categories of rice in the Philippines: irrigated lowland; non-irrigated lowland; palagad ("dry season rice"); and upland rice.[94] In Negros 59 per cent of the rice land is occupied by either irrigated or non-irrigated lowland rice.

Most of Negros' irrigated rice land, about 7,000 acres, is located near the coast, normally on river deltas where the waters are easily diverted. Exceptions include the Canlaon plateau where, at an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet, about 2,500 acres of rice land are irrigated by streams which originate on nearby volcanic peaks. Most of the lowland non-irrigated rice land is found along the flood plains. These are areas which cannot be irrigated due to lack of capital or technical difficulty.

Lowland rice usually is planted in Negros between June and August, although the dates vary slightly due to early or late start of the rainy season.[95] Non-irrigated

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[93] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., p.2.

[94] Palagad is the second rice crop a farmer tries to raise in one year from a usually, but not necessarily always, irrigated paddy. Cultivation practices have created two subtypes of upland rice agriculture: one where the fields are plowed for planting and the other where the rice is planted with a dibble stick.

[95] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53. These months appear to be the general planting and harvesting dates for rice in the Visayan Islands.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed. 133

Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles 178 177 [176]

of their bolos, the indispensible knife of most Filipinos, are carved with Garuda-like heads of an ancient mythological creature of India.

The barriofolk of Caticugan are selective heirs of many cultural heritages--Malay, Chinese, Hindu, Spanish and American. Various aspects of these cultures have been embraced with little resistance, accepted with drastic reinterpretation, or totally rejected. The next chapter will describe when and how different cultural traditions penetrated Negros, in general, and Siaton in particular.

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CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL MOULD

This chapter sketches the general historical contours of Siaton and Negros. One criticism of many anthropological studies of modern communities has stressed neglect of the historical approach, resulting from an "uncritical transfer of the methodology of studies of primitive peoples to those of modern societies."[1] Since all cultures are dynamic, reconstruction of their past furnishes valuable insights into the present and suggests possible future trends. For these reasons--in order to see Caticugan not only as it *is* but as it *was*--I have tried to recover and synthesize from printed record, oral tradition and manuscript source the history of Caticugan and its larger setting.

Caticugan barriofolk are heirs of many cultural traditions. The history of Negros and Siaton sheds light on the temporal sequence of various culture contacts, their impact and subsequent modification of the barriofolk's way of life. Yet events in Siaton or Caticugan cannot be adequately understood apart from the island's history; for this reason selected aspects of the historical development of Negros are presented as a backdrop.

This chapter deals with five major periods in the history of Negros and Siaton. The first period begins with the Spanish settlement of Negros, including the founding of

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[1] Steward, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tingues [mountains], and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomenderos...[30]

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Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

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Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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[30] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

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In 1838 the Spaniards in Siaton told all the Filipinos to stay inside their homes on an appointed day. Poblacion officials visited each residence on this day with an alphabetical list of names. Each family was given a family name.[50] The administration of Siaton, the tax accounts and other official records, were complicated by the lack of the people having a family name. There were many men known simply as Francisco, nicknamed Esco or Escong, often making it necessary for double nicknames to distinguish all the Escongs--such as Escongyawa. There are still communities in the Philippines where the people have family names that appear to have come from the same page of an alphabetical list.[51]

FROM 1845 TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

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In 1849 Tomas Mezquita succeeded Omedillas as the parish priest of Siaton. At this time the Siaton parish covered about 60 miles, from Zamboanguita to the Sicopon

[50] In this matter Cadiane is inconsistent for family names are given for capitans beginning in 1831. After Francisco Sugboanon came capitans Alejandro (1821-22); Felix (1823-24); Clemente (1825-26); Francisco Sugboanon (1827-28), re-elected; Etib (1829-30); Cayetano Cadingan (1831-32), first capitan with a family name; Celestino Makagig (1833-34); Etib (1835-36), re-elected; and Juan Jarnaes (1837-38).

[51] Most of the family names of the later leaders of Bonbonon cluster: Cajigan, Capoli, Carnaes, Janala, Jandug, Jangar, Japoli, Padunar, Pagulas, Paladar, Palagar, Palalomas, and Palalon. Since C and J are often interchangeable in Cebuano, such names as Capoli and Japoli were once probably identical.

and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

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The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

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Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

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[90] The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babailanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babailanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows.

When the Babailanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babailanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babailanes reached the church.

The Babailanes had many amulets. Gadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Norris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Norris, op. cit., p. 25.

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

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> of the cultural events of the last two thousand years are substantially clear. We can peel off layer after layer of civilization [in the Philippines] and come to its original kernel with some assurance of certainty and without being forced to draw too heavily on imagination.[173]

While this chapter is not a definitive history of the larger setting of Caticugan--Negros Island--or the Visayas, the material highlights the origin and growth of Siaton and Caticugan.

Generally speaking, there have been seven major sources of contemporary Philippine culture: Negrito, Malaysian, Indian, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish and American. The Negritos are believed to have been the first inhabitants of the islands, although we can barely surmise the original contours of their culture. First in importance, from both a physical and cultural point of view, is the broad Malaysian base--the culture brought to the Philippines by emigrants from continental Asia. These people fixed, in so many ways, the general outline of Philippine culture that can still be seen today in Caticugan.

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During and after the Malaysians' arrival, new concepts of art, religion and technology came to the archipelago from China, India and the Middle East. These concepts largely were brought to the Philippines by Southeast Asians (Chinese excepted) Buddhist, Hindu, or Mohammedan Malaysians rather than Indians and Arabs.

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[173] Alfred L. Kroeber, Peoples of the Philippines. 2nd and revised edition. Handbook Series No. 8. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1943. pp. 11-3.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

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Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174]Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175]H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

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borrowed or derived from Chinese sources in Tagalog that, in turn, influenced the barriofolk of Caticugan since Cebuano contains many Tagalog terms. The Chinese brought pottery, porcelain jars, silk and bronze gongs to the archipelago. The most precious possessions of some primitive groups in the Philippines, such as the Magahats, are ancient Chinese jars and gongs. Chinese influence can be seen in Caticugan in some of the vegetables grown and methods of cookery. As Siaton's history illustrates, however, the Chinese normally kept to themselves. They were often the target for discrimination, for some of the messianic disturbances of southern Negros (i.e., Babailanes) were partially anti-Chinese as was the pulajanes of Samar.[176]

The meagerness of the influence of Islam on the barriofolk of Caticugan is better understood when one considers the nature of their contacts with Mohammedan Filipinos. For more than two centuries the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago plagued the people of southern Negros with sudden plundering raids; after the 17th century the people of Siaton and the Moros were mortal enemies. Under such circumstances, cultural interchange

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[176] Macaraig writes that the pulajanes of Samar were anti-Chinese. He also states that one reason for the anarchistic aspects of the Babailanes of Negros was that leaders of the pulajanes in Samar went to Negros to deliver the leaders twenty river pebbles that allegedly had miraculous powers of giving immunity from hunger and death and invulnerability to bullets. Serafin E. Macaraig, Social Problems, Manila, Educational Supply Company, 1929, pp. 408-9.

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was hardly encouraged. While the Moros and Visayans had contacts prior to the Spaniard's arrival, traits borrowed, if any, are not apparent today in Caticugan. Moro influence may be seen today in a very diluted form, in a few minor fiesta activities, and possibly in few types of bolos occasionally seen in Caticugan.

Spanish culture made basic changes in nearly every aspect of Philippine culture--religion, language, economy, government, law, social structure, etc. The most notable achievement of Spain, the almost total Christianization of the Filipinos, has been frequently repeated and described. Unfortunately, this accomplishment has not been often carefully dissected to determine the reinterpretations of Catholicism by the Filipinos. Spanish influence in Caticugan is also apparent in the names of the people, their style of cookery, language, and perhaps their concept of God and Man--the Pagbu-ot sa Dios (God's Will) theme of barrio life. The extent of Spanish influence on Caticugan agriculture may be judged when it is remembered that the Spaniards introduced corn.

The American era was the last colonial period of the Philippines. There were few prolonged contacts between the people of Siaton and Americans; I was far more a novelty in Caticugan--because I was an American--than I had suspected would be the case. In the cities and larger poblacions one finds abundant evidence of American influence. However, American influence wanes as one leaves the

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urban centers for rural districts." It is my conviction that we have greatly over-estimated the innovative aspects of our period of tutelage in the Philippines, certainly in the barrios. We sometimes forget that the United States controlled the archipelago for less than half-a-century. 177

We were able to transmit the American belief that education is a panacea for all ills to most Filipinos, to increase their technological skills, and transplant the form of democracy. We were less successful--as we are learning today--in encouraging the people to understand the larger cultural factors behind these new concepts and techniques. We introduced democracy and its slogans but were unaware and largely uninterested in the modification of the societal base for modern democratic evolution in the Philippines.

One astute Filipino critic of the American regime has written:

> The background of Filipino social development is entirely different from that of the American, and the Filipino has never learned the proper use of so elementary a democratic tool as the committee or conference. In the course of a half-century of American tutelage, which in reality continues to this day, the Filipino came to know all the symbols and forms of democracy but not how to use effectively the simple tools with which he might have hammered and carved the substance of daily living into shapes more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the common people.[177]

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[177] Jose A. Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment: A Filipino View," Pacific Affairs, XXV, No. 3 (September, 1952), p. 233.

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> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

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When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the caingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

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Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the caingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the caingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay laman. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingala."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

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in October and November and is often finished before the paddies in Caticugan are harvested.

When the rice is ripening another lihi is practiced by some of the Caticugan barriofolk. A handful of stalks is gathered from the paddy and the rice is roasted. Sometimes six red peppers and a piece of ginger are roasted with the rice; others mix these items with the roasted rice later. The mixture is pounded in a mortar; the chaff is not separated from the rice and the whole is wrapped in a leaf of the binonga tree and placed in the middle of the paddy. The lihi purposes are: (1) roasting the rice makes the unharvested rice ripen more quickly while (2) hot peppers and ginger allegedly prevent insects from eating the rice heads. One woman said she put the stalks from the rice used in this ceremony in the rafters of the house. A man told the writer that it was best to add a yellowish piece of banana stalk so the grains would become a similar color.

One man in Barrio Caticugan was reported (but was never seen doing it) to buy firecrackers from the Chinese stores in the poblacion and explode them in his paddy before harvest time to frighten away birds and insects.

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The most widely practiced pre-harvest lihi in Caticugan bears the imprint of Catholicism. Just before the rice is harvested four small crosses are placed in each corner of the paddy. The crosses are usually made of bamboo but one informant said they should be made from the salngan tree for rice harvests, and from the common

thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

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This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

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[771]

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan. 243 178

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God. 243 [425] [753]

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the 243 177

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations. 243

During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people. 771 781 243

When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents. 243 [177].

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol. 245

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality. 273 434 443 245 [65]

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete, 273 [178] 245 177 174 177 245 273

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

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diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

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Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

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Kalamongay

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The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangola bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77].

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

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Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIXand LXXX.)[1]

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

[21] Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 13, 1942, p. 30.

[22] A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress.[23] Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796 527 A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vespe s* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. . .re may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied [177] against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

527 537 The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahologan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

527 535 437 The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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> ...do not neglect their duty in sending their children to school because they believe that in a democracy what is paramount is education, which is necessary for good citizenship.[10]

The messages may praise the *principalia* of the *poblacion*. One fiesta program states:

> Such great and prominent men as the late Governor Demetrio Larena, the late Senator Hermenegildo Villanueva, the late Representative Enrique C. Villanueva, the late Governor Guillermo Z. Villanueva, and the late Governor Praxedes Villanueva; all these dead national figures hailed and were reared in . . . (name of *poblacion*).

Such a sentence underlines the personalism typical of most Philippine politics.

Many of the messages, however, have a definite political slant, usually praising the national, provincial, or municipal politicians. In the printed fiesta program of one small *poblacion*, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives wrote:

> You are indeed fortunate in having Congressman... (of the same party as the Speaker) as your representative in Congress. I am happy to tell you that Congressman ... is truly a representative of the people.... He is one of the most able members of the House .... With him, the fortune and future of your town is in safe hands. I urge you, therefore, to extend to him your unqualified support and cooperation.

(This fiesta occurred just before the election in which the congressman was running for a provincial office.)

Below are a few samples of the political aspects of many of the messages printed in the fiesta programs.

Important strides have been made towards the beautification

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[10] This statement is an illustration of how effectively the American Administration (1898-1946) in the Philippines transferred *the American attitude that* education is a panacea for all economic and social problems. As for the *actual influence* of American educational theories and practices in rural Philippines, one noted Filipino educator has written about the "little dent the much-vaunted American-sponsored educational system has made in Philippine rural life." Laya, J.C. *Little Democracies* (Revised edition; Manila: Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951, p. 6